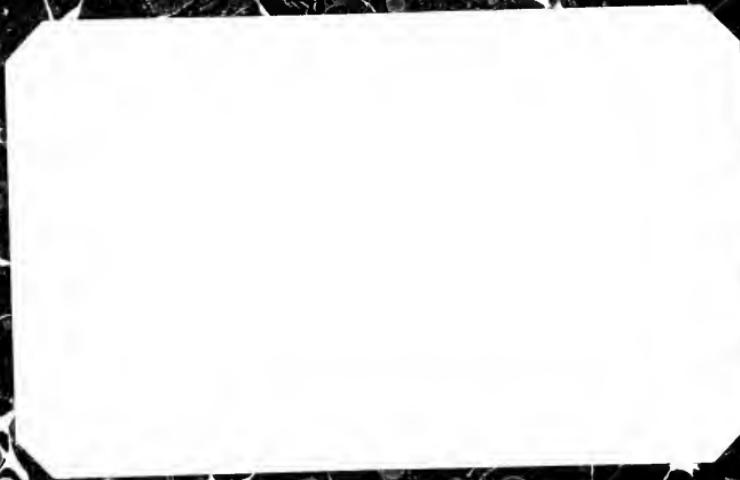


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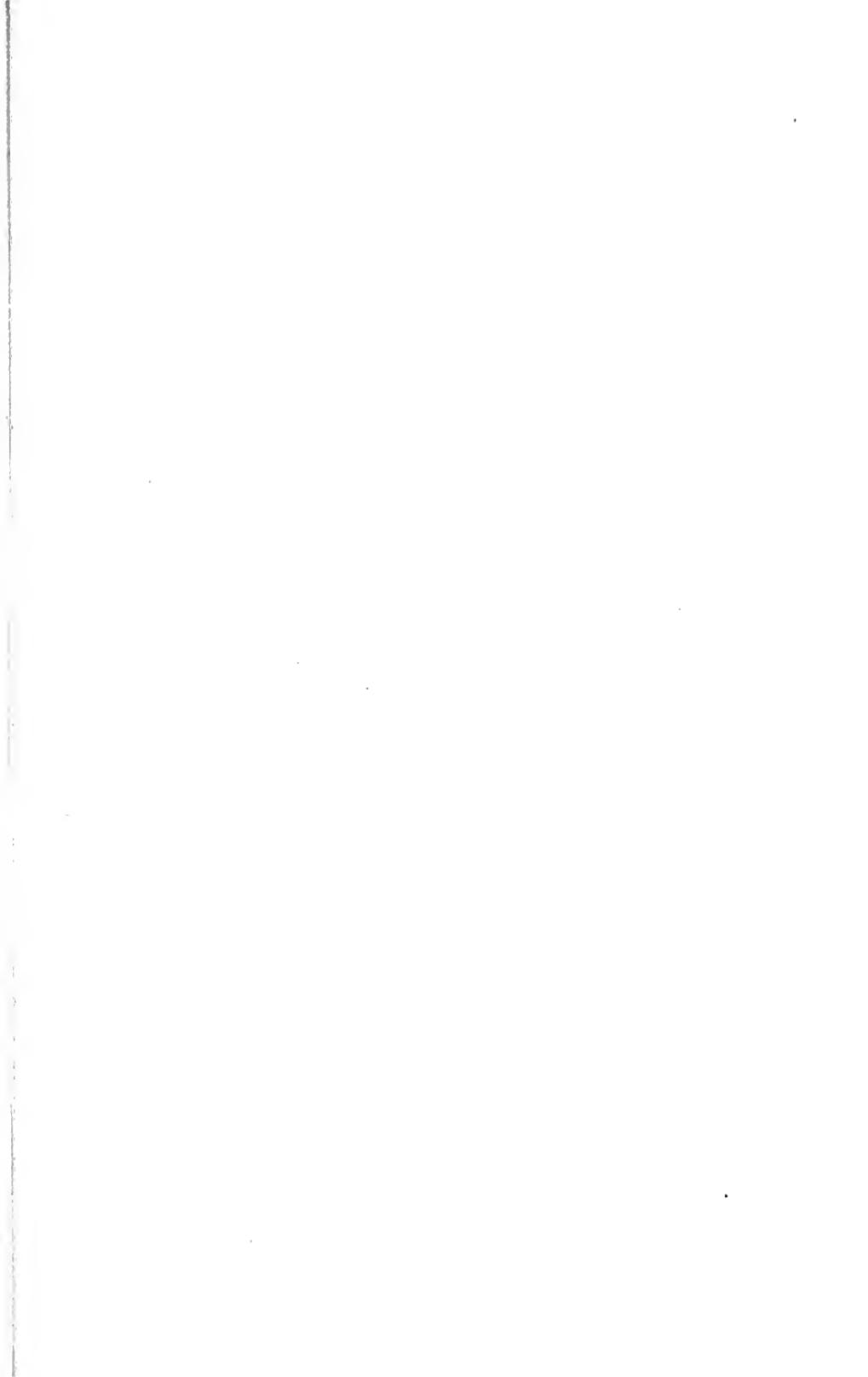
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A D D R E S S

DELIVERED AT

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THE WHIG CONVENTION

HELD AT UTICA,

THE TENTH OF SEPTEMBER, ONE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND
THIRTY-FOUR.

BY CHANDLER STARR,

II

A MERCHANT AND DELEGATE FROM THE CITY OF

NEW-YORK.

NEW-YORK:

T. SNOWDEN, PRINTER, 53 WALL-STREET.

1834.

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OFFICERS OF THE CONVENTION.

PRESIDENT,

PETER R. LIVINGSTON.

VICE PRESIDENTS,

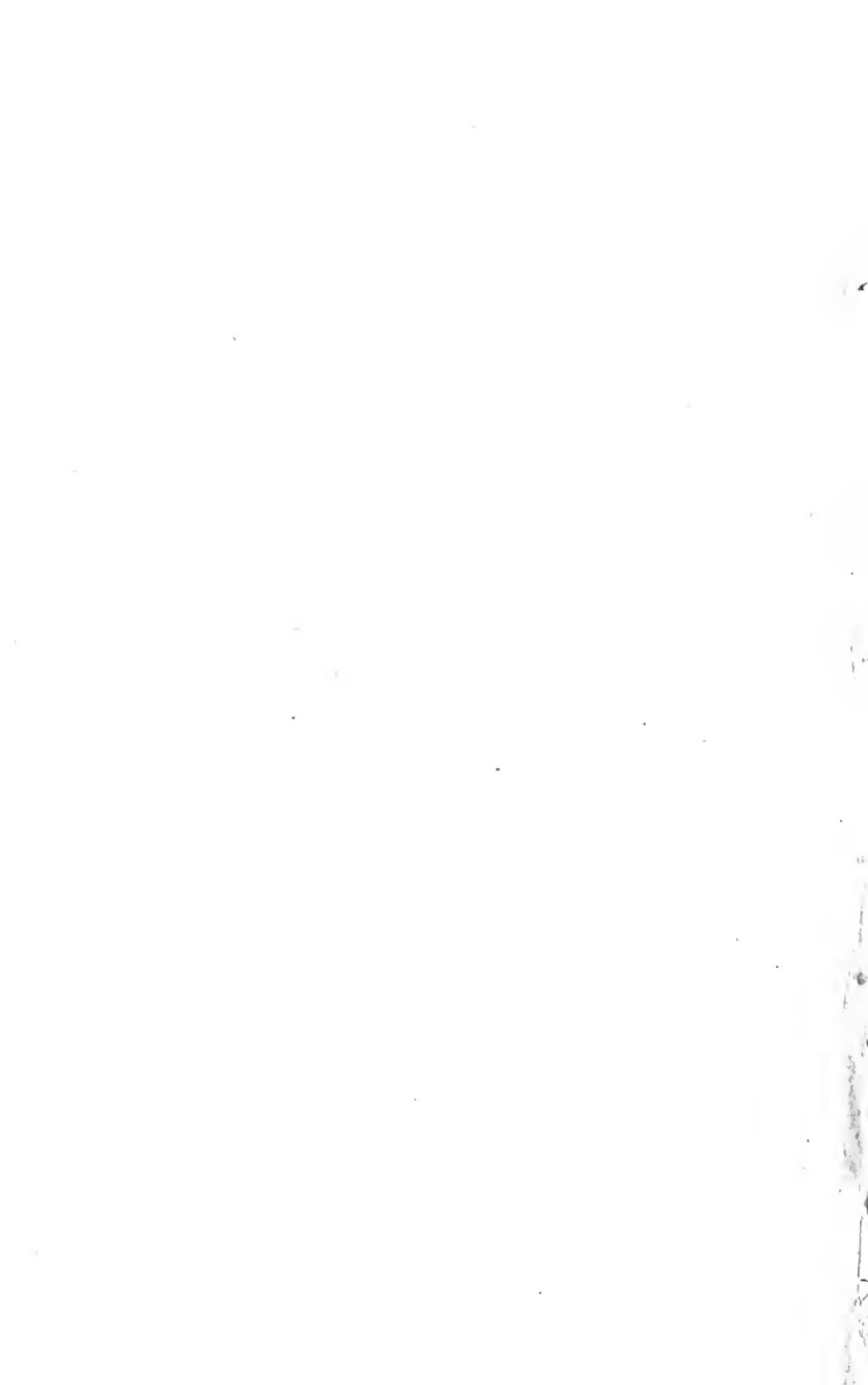
JAMES W. WILKINS,
JOHN TOWNSEND,
ISAAC OGDEN,
TRUMBULL CAREY,
EPHRAIM HART,
HENRY H. ROSS.

SECRETARIES,

WILLIAM H. FREELAND,
DAVID SILL,
MOSES H. GRINNELL,
DAY O. KELLOGG.

IN CONVENTION, September 11, 1834.

On motion of Mr. MILLER, of Schoharie, Resolved, that Mr. STARR be requested by this Convention to furnish a copy of the Address this day delivered by him, for publication.



A D D R E S S

DELIVERED AT

THE WHIG CONVENTION,

HELD AT UTICA, THE TENTH OF SEPTEMBER, 1834.

MR. PRESIDENT—

In rising to second the resolution which has been submitted by the gentleman on my right, I will Sir, with your permission trespass on the patience of the Convention a few moments, while I offer some general remarks upon the present aspect of our affairs; and first allow me to congratulate you, Sir, and this respectable Convention, upon the auspicious result of our labors. I would not conceal the fact that I have looked forward to our proceedings here with great solicitude.

A convention of Delegates from different parts of the State for the purpose of selecting candidates for the offices of Governor and Lieutenant Governor is always an important event, but an unusual importance attaches to our proceedings at this time. We have come together under a new order of things, and with new responsibilities devolving upon us.

Within the past year, for the first time since the organization of our Government, an attempt has been made by the Executive of the Nation, and a successful one, to wrest the Treasury of the country from the control of the people's representatives; and when we by our Committees have repaired to Washington, to remonstrate against this high handed measure—to say that this unfortunate act had produced embarrassment without a parallel—that under its withering influence property of every description had depreciated—credit and business languished, and with many was about to expire—how have we been treated? Why, told in one direction that we were “panic makers—that we were exaggerating the distresses of the country for political effect.” If we carried our complaints to other ears—if we said to the Executive of the nation that confidence and credit, the vital spark of an active, and prosperous trade, have received a stab at your hands, which nothing but an act of yours can repair, the reply is,—“come not to me with your complaints—all men who do business on borrowed means ought to break.”

Committee after Committee, have succeeded each other, until at last they are spurned away,—the door is closed, and American citizens are no longer permitted to remonstrate against an act that has pressed them to the earth! American citizens are denied access to the man they have twice delighted to honor! If conduct like this be sanctioned we deserve not the name of freemen.

These, Sir, as I said before, are some of the events which form a new era in the history of our affairs, and sadly did our oppressors mistake the character of independent Whigs, if they supposed we should not seize the first opportunity to express our disapprobation of these despotic mea-

sures—if they supposed we should not avail ourselves of the first resort to the ballot box, to proclaim that an “Experiment” which brings blight and mildew to our prosperity, and what is infinitely worse, reproach upon the faith of the Nation, will not long be borne by a free people.

These, Sir, are some of the considerations which to my mind give to the approaching election an importance far greater than any that have preceded it. Its result will, I verily believe decide the course of events and the destiny of our country for a long time to come, and will fix the character of the next Congress of the U. S. and of course the policy of the government. Nay more, Sir, if auspicious it will change the character of the present Congress—it will teach gentlemen who are to spend another winter at Washington that they were sent there, not to represent Gen. Jackson or Mr. Van Buren, but the interests of their constituents.—In short, Sir, it will adjust that question which has been the source of all our troubles ; it will restore the legitimate relations between the Government and the United States Bank—that Institution, which furnishes the best currency and the most perfect system of commercial facility, and accommodation, the world ever saw—that Institution, which intelligent men all over our land, free from the shackles of party, believe and know, has greatly contributed to the unparalleled prosperity of this country for the last fifteen years.

Mr. President : I have not come here to trumpet the fame of the U. States Bank. Far from it. Whenever the people of this country are satisfied they can dispense with a National Bank, and its Branches, then I say let it peaceably expire. I would not prolong its existence a single day ; but knowing something of the *origin* of the war that has been waged against the Bank, and how perfectly unprincipled it has been from the beginning, I trust I may be pardoned in alluding to the subject ; and may I ask the indulgence of this respectable Convention while I introduce another, with which it is not altogether disconnected. And in doing this, I would observe, that I am not about to attack the Banking interest of our own State. Of the ultimate soundness of our local Banks, I have never entertained a doubt. To the ability and integrity with which they are conducted, so far as my information extends, I am prepared to render my humble testimony. It is for another purpose altogether, that I now allude to the subject : and should gentlemen think me too personal in my remarks—that in the statements I submit to the convention the names of individuals might in some instances have been omitted, I must beg leave to dissent from such an opinion. The time has come, when the authors of the mischiefs we have suffered, should be known and pointed at.

This country has exhibited a very novel spectacle for several months past. We have not been so favorably situated for an active, and prosperous trade in every branch of business, for more than twenty years. The resources of the country in every section of it, were never more abundant. As it regards our connexions abroad, our situation has been peculiarly auspicious ; and yet, Sir, with a balance of trade every where in our favor, we have been every where depressed—with the whole world tributary to us, we have been paralyzed from one end of the nation to the other—we have been held in fetters, and for no other object under Heaven, than to advance the political interest of Martin Van Buren—to carry out his “uncomprising hostility to the U. S. Bank.” If, the people of this country submit to this state of things, then has the spirit of their fathers fled, and no matter who may be destined for our future rulers, in any event they will be as good as we deserve. But, Sir, they will not submit ; and notwithstanding the country is recovering in some measure, from the derangement and embarrassment occasioned by the mad career of our profigate rulers, still, there remains a stain upon our national honor, that

must be wiped away. No atonement has yet been offered to a violated constitution, and until that is done, the men in power may rest assured, that neither prosperity, nor adversity, will find freemen sleeping on their arms.

But, Sir, I beg pardon for this digression. The Safety Fund system to which I was about to call the attention of the Convention and which seems destined to absorb every fund that we have, was adopted in this state in the winter of 1829. It was recommended to the Legislature by Mr. Van Buren who was Governor for about two months. When first promulgated it found little favor any where. It had but few advocates in the Legislature. All the papers in the City of New York, (without distinction of party) came out in opposition to it. All the officers of the different Banks in that City were opposed to it. All the Banks in the City of Albany save the Mechanics' and Farmers' Bank, which has been always more or less identified with the interest of Mr. Van Buren, (and I wish gentlemen to keep this identity in view) were opposed to it. So of the Banks at Troy. Being then a member of the House of Assembly, and one of the Bank Committee, I addressed a letter to some one of the officers of most of the different Banks in the western part of the State. Replies were I believe received in every instance, and all concurred in disapproving of the measure. Subsequently in a conversation with Mr. Van Buren, I stated to him the result of my inquiries. He replied (as he always does reply, to those who doubt his infallibility,) that it was a measure in which he felt little interest—that he did not claim to know much upon the subject of Banking—that the system might not possibly prove a good one ; and that he never should have submitted it to the Legislature, had it not met with the approbation of Mr. Olcott Cashier of the Mechanics' & Farmers' Bank, whom he considered one of the most intelligent men upon the subject of Banking in the country. The next morning, I called on a member of the Senate, and mentioned to him what had passed between Mr. Van Buren and myself. He replied, that Mr. Van Buren had made precisely the same statement to him, and then expressed it as his own conviction, that the whole was intended as a political machine, originating with a few individuals at Albany. The bill was reported to the House of Assembly by Mr. Paige Chairman of the Bank Committee. It was however drawn up under the immediate supervision of Mr. Olcott of the Mechanics' & Farmers' Bank. Twice, at his own house, I saw him revising and correcting the bill, and there, I received the first intimation that the charter of the U. S. Bank would not probably be renewed ; and recollect gentlemen, this was some four or five weeks before Genl. Jackson entered upon the duties of his office as President of the United States. Notwithstanding the opposition to the measure from every part of the State, in a little more than one short month, nearly every political friend of Mr. Van Buren in the House of Assembly, and all but two in the Senate, were brought to vote for the bill ; and I well recollect when rallying a member of the lower House on his change of opinion he replied :—"I have been told, if friendly to Mr. Van Buren, I must vote for the bill." Four years ago the last winter, I heard Mr. Geo. R. Davis on the floor of the Assembly declare, that he was the uncompromising enemy of the U. S. Bank, and that he would never cease his hostility, until the institution ceased to exist. Within thirty days thereafter, he was elected a Bank Commissioner, an office he still holds ; and it is sufficient for my present purpose to say, that he owed his first election exclusively to the management of Mr. Olcott, the Banks in the City of New-York having no voice in that election.

Gentlemen will bear in mind, that of the three Bank Commissioners, one receives his appointment from the Governor and Senate ; that delegates from the Banks in the first, second, and third Senate Districts, assemble in New-York for the choice of another ; and delegates from the

other Banks in the State convene at Auburn, for the choice of the third. Arrangements that rendered certain the election of Mr. Davis, were concluded at Albany on Friday, and so important was it considered to secure the election of a gentleman of the same political stamp at the West, that, Mr. Benjamin Knower, then President of the Mechanics & Farmers' Bank, left Albany the same evening, at the most inclement season of the year, and travelling day and night, including the whole of the Sabbath, arrived at Auburn a few hours before the opening of the poll in that village. The older Banks of Geneva, Ontario, and Monroe, having united upon a gentleman who had never worn the collar, the Regency were in that instance defeated. Good care was taken, however, before another election, to locate a sufficient number of new Banks in the District, to guard against a similar contingency ; and at the next biennial election Major Reese was displaced, to make room for an individual suited to the views of his employers.

These Bank Commissioners—or rather these travelling electioneering committee men, are now all the devoted partisans of Mr. Van Buren, and to poison the minds of gentlemen connected with our local Banks, and array them against the U. S. Bank, has been regarded, as an important part of their duty. How faithfully they have labored in their vocation let their official papers—their annual reports to the Legislature testify. Nothing but a supreme regard to the claims of party, could have induced men, with any pretensions to respectability, to put their names to such a tissue of misrepresentations as their last annual report contains. Talk to an intelligent community of the hostility of the United States Bank to the State Banks ! tell them, its energies are all bent to their prostration ! Why, sir, there is not a tolerably intelligent Clerk of eighteen years of age to be found in the country, who does not know the whole statement to be false, utterly false. But these gentlemen *must* do their masters bidding. It is the discipline of the school, to require every individual, from the Governor down to the State Printer, to adopt the party tirade against the Bank. Tell us of the hostility of the U.S. Bank to the state banks! Sir, I have taken some little pains to inform myself with regard to the position occupied by the U. S. Bank towards the State Banks for several years past, and I will relate a single occurrence, from among many that have come to my knowledge, all of the same character, and all, illustrative as I truly believe, of the uniform treatment the local Banks have received from the Bank of the United States.

It will be remembered, that that scourge of Heaven, which passed over our land in the summer and autumn of 1832, the Cholera, made its appearance in the City of New-York early in the month of July. Its effect there as every where else, was to cause an entire suspension of business, and although at a season of the year when commercial engagements are not large, still as it completely paralyzed the market, it became necessary for the Banks to adopt a liberal course towards the Merchants of that City. One very respectable board of Directors in looking into the condition of the Institution over which they presided, found they were indebted to the U. S. Branch Bank in that city about half the amount of their capital. Their ability, therefore, to grant the indulgence and accommodation their customers would require, would mainly depend on the course the Branch should adopt towards them. A committee was appointed to wait upon the officers of the Branch, and learn what they had to expect. The reply was (I believe I give it in the precise language as repeated by one of that Committee) "Gentlemen, there is no probability that your Institution will be called on for any part of the balance due us for sometime to come—should it however become necessary, contrary to our present expectation, liberal notice shall be given you ;—say at least, thirty or sixty days ; but in no event will you be called on for a dollar of specie so long as the present gloomy state of things exists."

Now, Mr. President, facts speak louder than words, and I pledge myself to you, sir,—to this respectable convention, and to the opponents of the Bank throughout the country, to furnish ten parallel cases with the one I have related, well authenticated, against every instance, where a contrary course of conduct on the part of the Bank can be established.

In the remarks I have made, sir, I have not denied to the safety fund law a single good feature. That it possesses some good provisions, I am ready to admit; but that it was designed, and is used, as a political engine, I have not a doubt—that as a political engine it is a perfect system, more potent than any organization we have before witnessed in this country, is equally clear to my mind. How else shall we account for the fact that these Bank Commissioners, men barely respectable in point of talents and acquirements, are every where received with profound awe—that their requisitions, are regarded as absolute law—and that many high minded and honorable men connected with monied institutions all over our state, who originally scouted the whole system, now do homage to its agents. Sir, I know the fact, that gentlemen here, and elsewhere, who despise both the origin and object of the law, dare not speak disrespectfully of either. Mr. President, do I exaggerate the importance, or power of these men? Why, sir, the very revenues of your State move at their bidding. Witness the transfer last winter of four hundred thousand Dollars of the Canal Fund from the Bank in the City of New-York, to the Banks in Albany, and that without previous notice, when the interest of the Safety Fund required it.

Such, Mr. President, as I have described it, is the history of the Safety fund, and such Gentlemen of the Convention, was the commencement of that war upon the currency of the country, which has since brought distress and embarrassment, to every class of the community; and this war is still to be waged under the auspices of the regency Bank at Albany, which is literally, the mother Bank of the State. Not a Bank Charter is granted under the Safety fund, where some of the Commissioners for the distribution of Stock, are not made acceptable to Gentlemen connected with that institution. In how many of the country Banks they are now interested in the stock, I am unable to say; but I can say, without fear of contradiction, that two-thirds, if not three-fourths of the Banks in the interior of our State, keep, or have kept their account, with the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, at Albany. Hence it is, that the whole responsibility of the Safety fund system has devolved upon that institution, and hence, the recent call upon the People of this State, in a season of peril and alarm, for four or five millions of dollars to sustain it.

Does any gentleman doubt the origin of that obnoxious measure which the frowns of an indignant people have as yet prevented from being carried into execution. If so let me tell him, and I do not speak unadvisedly, it had not its origin in the City of New-York—the money was not asked for by the Banks of that City, as the Bill would seem to import. No, sir, if it was contemplated to place four millions of that amount in the Banks of the City of New-York, it was for the benefit of the Banks generally throughout the State.—It was to give to the Banks in the interior a credit in that City—it was to increase their facilities, by enabling them to draw on the fund, and thereby relieve the mother Bank at Albany from some part of the burden, under which she was then struggling. In short, sir, it was a call upon the people of this State, to borrow four Millions of Dollars for the Banks, at an interest of five per cent., on the whole amount of which, the Banks were sure to divide from ten to fifteen per cent; and, Sir, this is but a fair specimen of our legislation since the adoption of the Safety Fund. Where go from year to year the revenues of our State, which now exceed in amount that of any other three States in the Union? Does not almost every session of the Legislature witness the passage of some act, authorizing the Comptroller to loan this fund, and that fund, at

a low rate of interest? And see Five Hundred Thousand Dollars placed in this Bank, and Three Hundred Thousand in that, and Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand in another, and One Hundred and Fifty Thousand in another, and so on, until the whole of the Public Funds are distributed among these irresponsible, incorporated Companies, and at such a rate of interest as enables the Stockholders of these Companies to realize a nett profit of from six to ten per cent. on the whole amount.

Mr. President—The men in power claim to be the friends of the poor, but do not their acts exhibit any thing but friendship for them? Has it not been their constant aim to build up and unite the great monied influence of the State, in one general partnership? And have not too many of their measures reference to the profits of this partnership? Unless the people wake up to this subject—unless they resolve to put a check to this course of things, the time is not far distant when the prediction of the lamented Maynard will be fully realized. Under the Safety Fund he said: “he looked forward to the time when a Bank should be located in every county in the State, and when that time arrived, no individual, however meritorious, need aspire to preferment, without the aid of Bank influence; nay, he feared, that no man could be returned to the Legislature of our State, who was not acceptable to the Central Banking Power at Albany.”

Sir—I do not stand here as an alarmist, nor would I, do any injustice, to the hundreds of honorable and correct men connected with our monied institutions; but it does appear to me, that this State is rapidly putting itself under the entire and absolute control of Banks; and I cannot divest myself of the belief, that one half of the hue and cry about the prodigious influence and dangerous power of the United States Bank, that has been raised, and is kept up, is to divert our attention, from the chains that are forging for us at home.

But, Sir, I again beg pardon for this digression, I was speaking of the origin of the six million mortgage, about which there can be no doubt. During the month of March last, as I am informed, and I have no doubt correctly, Governor Marcy had very frequent interviews, both with the Bank Commissioners and Mr. Olcott. What inducements were held out to his Excellency to recommend the measure, I pretend not to know. It does not belong to me to impugn the motives of any man, much less, of that individual to whom we are indebted for that noble, disinterested, and patriotic sentiment, that, to the “victor belongs the spoils.” The peculiar situation, however, in which Gov. Marcy was placed at that period, is probably known to all who hear me. Whether he was to derive pecuniary benefit from the measure, or whether its recommendation was required as a test of his allegiance, about which there had begun to be some doubts, I am unable to say.

Sir—I regret the necessity for this allusion to his excellency; but I appeal to every man who hears me, whether it is without provocation? By what authority I ask, does Gov. Marcy take it upon himself in his message, to pronounce the whole commercial interest of this country partizans of the United States Bank?—because, they regard the constitution, and laws of the land, more than the interest of the party to which he still adheres—because, as one man, they have arisen, to rebuke the late high-handed measures of the executive, are they to be denominated partizans of the Bank? No, Sir. The merchants and mechanics have, and to their praise be it spoken, with an unanimity altogether unexampled, come forth to vindicate the plighted faith of the nation, and seconded by the agricultural interest, as they are sure to be, they will teach the world, that American faith and credit, are not to be violated and trampled with impunity, even by the government of the country.

Sir—I have said we shall be sustained by the agricultural interest.

Can it be otherwise? Have not the party in power forfeited all claim to the further support of the land-holding interest in this State, by that very act to which we have just alluded? What is the character of that act? Look at its provisions. It contemplates a loan of six millions of dollars on the credit of the people of this State—and for what purpose? We have seen how four millions of the amount was to be applied. What disposition is to be made of the other two millions? Sir, it was to be placed in the hands of political partizans, to be loaned out to individuals in the different counties, where a majority of the supervisors of the county should consent to receive the money. And who is holden for its payment? Surely, in this land of equal rights, this land of constitutional law, no one but the borrower, and the friends he may persuade to become his security. No such thing, Sir—the independent farmer, who asks no favors from banks, or from your treasury, he is made liable for the debt! No matter whether his farm is the fruit of his own industry, or has come down to him unencumbered from worthy Sires; it is mortgaged for the payment of this loan, made perhaps to his unworthy neighbor. Gentlemen, do I misstate here? Allow me to read a single section. (Here Mr. S. read the 10th section of the six million loan bill.) If the good people of this State fail to place the seal of their reprobation upon the authors of this act, then have I altogether mistaken the character of the New-York farmer. Had the present legislature passed a law, authorizing the Albany Regency to throw away two millions of the public funds upon their political favorites, the act would not so much have surprised us; but, when they come back for their money upon the honest farmer, who has had no part or lot in the matter, one would think, that the very stones embedded in the soil would cry out.

Gentlemen, this act that would have disgraced the days of Robespierre, is now a law of the State of New-York; it stands recorded upon your statute book. To the Whigs, I trust, is reserved the honor of wiping out the stain.

Mr. President—There are those who would array the great and leading interests of our country against each other—who labor to excite the jealousy of the agricultural, toward the commercial, and that of the commercial toward the manufacturing and mechanical interests. I have no language, Sir, to characterize the baseness of these attempts. These great interests are one. They are mutually dependant, and should be mutual helps to each other. We, who are in trade, know that our success depends on the prosperity of the country. When the farmer thrives, we flourish. When he is depressed, we suffer. So on the other hand, when the merchant enjoys an active and prosperous business, the farmer is sure of a ready and profitable market. And more than this, Sir, we look to the intelligence and firmness of the country, for the preservation of our free institutions. In seasons of encroachment and peril, we rely on the yeomanry of the country to say, to aggression from abroad, or oppression at home, thus far shalt thou come, and no further. Array the farmer against the merchant! was it so, in the days of our fathers? Was there no tie that bound together the different interests at that time? It was the merchants of the *then* commercial emporium of the country, who threw overboard the tea in Boston harbor. Did the farmer in the interior look coolly on? Did he turn away with indifference, and leave the gentlemen with pens behind their ears, (to use an *elegant* expression of the Albany Argus,) to take care of themselves,—or did he leave his plough in the furrow, shoulder his musket, and march to Lexington to vindicate the act? The man who would array the country against the city—who would persuade the farmer that his interest is one thing, and that of the merchant, or manufacturer, or mechanic, another, I care not who he may be, he is no friend to his country.

Mr. President—I have said, that I had not come here to eulogise

the United States Bank. I have no other interest in the institution than that of every business man in the community. I am not personally acquainted with one of its officers, nor have I had a single transaction with the Bank or any of its branches, in eight or nine years; but in common with my fellow citizens, I do owe to the directors of that institution, a debt of gratitude, which I am happy here, and on all occasions publicly to acknowledge; and it is, Sir, for their determination from the commencement, to keep aloof, entirely aloof, from this administration. It is, that in June 1829, when required by the government to remove Jeremiah Mason from the Presidency of the Branch Bank at Portsmouth, for his political opinions, they resolved, to know nothing of the politics of any man. This was the act which has called down the ceaseless vengeance of the powers that be, and it is to this act more than any thing else we owe it, that we are to-day a free people. Gentlemen may think I attach undue importance to this circumstance, but I appeal to every man who hears me, and I ask him, to answer the question conscientiously, what would have been our condition at this moment, had the directors of the United States Bank, been ready and prompt, to second the views of the profligate cabal, who have controlled at Washington for the last five years.

Much has been said of the corruption of the monster; but depend upon it Gentlemen, the unpardonable sin on the part of the Bank was, that it would not be corrupted. Who, that has watched the course of events in this State, for a few years past, the *character* of the war that has been waged against the Bank, can hesitate to believe, that had the Bank regarded the aggrandizement of Mr. Van Buren, as a paramount object, it would have found an advocate in every member of the Albany Regency? Who that knows any thing of the character of the Kitchen Cabinet at Washington, doubts the terms on which their favor might have been secured? But thank heaven, it enjoys the favor of neither; and Mr. President, whenever gratitude for military services or any thing else, shall elevate to the Presidency of this nation, a man with like pretensions of Andrew Jackson—a man, arrogating to himself all the powers that he has done—a man, who instead of making constitution and law his guide, takes upon himself the responsibility of doing as he pleases—a man, pledging himself to guard the patronage of the government from coming in conflict with the freedom of elections, and yet bestowing the bounty of that government on three fourths of the partisan editors, that sustain his measures throughout the country—a man, deprecating the direful consequences to be apprehended to our government, from the appointment of members of Congress to office, and yet, selecting more members of Congress for office, than all his predecessors put together—a man, promising retrenchment, and reform, in different departments of government, and yet, introducing more of profligacy and waste, ten fold, than has been witnessed since the organization of our government—a man, in short, violating his own avowed principles, in fifty instances, and ready and willing to sport with the prosperity of a whole people, for the single object of advancing the interest of Martin Van Buren—then, as now Sir, I should rejoice to find a National Bank, and respectable State Banks all over the Union, *not* arrayed on the side of power.

So much, Sir, has been said, and eloquently said, upon the removal of the public funds, from the Bank of the United States, that I will not detain the Convention with any remarks upon this subject. I would barely for one moment call their attention, to two or three circumstances connected with that event. And first, gentlemen, note the time at which the deed was done. Only two months before the meeting of Congress, to whom is committed the care of the public Treasure, and who alone are responsible for its safe keeping. Look at the agent sent from Washington to the Atlantic cities, to negeciate for this high violation of law—for

the disposal of the whole revenue of the country, agreeable to the good will and pleasure of Amos Kendall. Observe the character of individuals that every where surround him. Mark the delegation that repair from Albany to New-York to meet him. See them in secret conclave with the Wall street Broker, who volunteers to break the branch at Savannah; and see that Broker immediately thereafter, paying a premium, for notes issued by that branch.

Mr. President—I know not that the history of this transaction will ever be revealed. For the honor of human nature, I hope it will not. There are acts of perfidy, that require no other infliction than the silent reflections of those concerned.

Gentlemen of the Convention, there was more in this attempt to break the Bank than meets the eye. It was mainly relied on by the conspirators to sustain them in their high handed measure. After they had resolved to seize upon the Treasury of the country, the calculation was this. If, before the meeting of Congress, we can discredit the Bank, by causing a suspension at one of its branches, then will a majority of the House of Representatives approve the act. If we fail in this, we must rely upon the Veto of the President, to preserve to us the control of the peoples' money. The very actors in this scene are disappointed, in the subserviency exhibited by the peoples' Representatives. They did not expect it. They felt that this gross violation of contract and law, would arouse the indignation of the whole country. They expected, as the result has proved, that many high minded and honorable men in Congress, from the South and West, would break away from the shackles of party, and cry shame on such disregard of the faith of the Nation. They *fear ed* there might be some such, from our own State. Alas! that they should for one moment have distrusted the *virtue of a New-York Collar.*

And now gentlemen, while we are ready to denounce the late measures of the National, and State Governments, let us not forget their author. Let us not charge all the evils under which the country has struggled, either, to the prejudice, or obstinacy of Genl. Jackson; but to the unhallowed influence, that has controlled him.

Behind the curtain stands the arch Intriguer;—an Intriguer, from whom, thanks to the sagacity of better men, the mantle of non-committal, has at last been stript. An Intriguer who cares not how wide spread the ruin of his countrymen, if he may but reach the goal of his ambition.

Mr. President: my thoughts never recur to this “favorite son of New York,” as he has been denominated by his worshippers, without bringing to my recollection the remark of a distinguished benefactor of our State, now no more. A benefactor, to whom we are more largely indebted, than to any other man, and whose memory will long be cherished, by the wise, and the patriotic, throughout our land. I allude to the late Gov. Clinton.

Speaking of Mr. Van Buren in 1824, he said, that “ever since he, (Mr. V. B.) became the leader of a party in this State, it had been his policy and his practice, to avoid prominent individuals,—to pass by citizens of distinguished worth and talent, and call around him second and third rate men, who were flattered with his notice, and ready to sell themselves, in his service.” Without retracing the history of our political men, what a forcible illustration, of the correctness of this remark is furnished, in the character of our present delegation in Congress—when one individual shamelessly boasts, that he belongs to a school of politicians who recognize no freedom or independence in the representative, and that he regards a claim to either, on the part of gentlemen from the South, as a subject of ridicule and reproach—and when another, publicly avows, that sooner than vote against the will of his master, (for it means nothing more nor less) he would sacrifice the commerce and credit of the

nation—he would sacrifice the local Banks of the State and give to the people, a depreciated, and worthless currency,—and when a third,—that sooner than by his vote, express his disapprobation of a measure of the administration, which he was satisfied was prejudicial to the interest of his constituents, he would jeopard the interest of his immortal soul—he would commit the unpardonable sin. Who, that has a feeling of patriotism or philanthropy left, does not mourn over degradation like this?

And Sir, we have to lament that the same debasing influence, that has so long controlled and degraded our own State, now prevails at Washington. Who is it that has supplanted every upright and honorable man there? Who has driven from the confidence and counsels of the Executive, a McLane, a Calhoun, a Berrian, a Tazewell, an Ingham, a Duane, and a host of other early and efficient supporters of the President? Who has plundered Genl. Jackson himself of his good name, and will send him down to the grave, not with the plaudits of a grateful nation, but with the execrations of a betrayed and injured people? Who but the same individual who in days that are past, proscribed a Clinton, a Kent, a Spencer, a Van Ness, and a long catalogue of Worthies, who have lived for the happiness of their fellow men, and who will continue to live, in the affections of a grateful people, long after this Plotter against every thing that is elevated and respectable, shall be forgotten; or if remembered, only, as one of the political scourges, with which an all-wise Providence occasionally afflicts our race.

But, Sir, I rejoice that the delusion is passing away, that beyond the Alleghany and Potomac the mist of Van Burenism is dissipated as I trust forever. I rejoice that the lovers of Law are everywhere aroused—that so much of the spirit of '76, animates the Whigs of '34. Our Fathers, warred against the claims of arbitrary power—so do we. Our Fathers, took up arms against pretensions on the part of the British Parliament, and the British King, not more repugnant to the spirit of Freemen, than prerogatives now claimed, for a President of the United States. Relying on the justice of their cause and the aid of Heaven, they fought and triumphed—so shall we.

But it is not to be concealed, that we encounter a foe, wielding a weapon far more formidable, and more to be dreaded a hundred fold, than British bayonets—I mean a corrupted Post Office; and if ever the friends of Freedom are called upon to buckle on their armor, it is, when some ambitious individual aspires to the highest office in the gift of a free people; and fully aware, that he has no hold on the moral sense of that people, no claims upon his fellow citizens, for services rendered the country, yet nothing daunted, pursues his object, reckless of the means, until at last, he obtains complete control of this Department of the Government, and renders it subservient to his views, throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Mr. President, I had intended to call the attention of the Convention to some of the developments, that have been made, touching the General Post Office, but I have already trespassed too long upon your patience, nor is it necessary to go into detail. You, Gentlemen, have all read the Reports of the Majority and Minority of the Post Office Committee, in the Senate of the United States, and the accompanying Documents, and I have no doubt you are prepared to say, that the history of the worst Government in the worst of times, furnishes no parallel, to the maladministration of that Department,—and, sir, we are at no loss upon whom to charge its infamous condition. We are not left to uncertain conjecture. We all know, who has always aimed to make this Department of the Government subservient to party. We have not forgotten the man, to whom an honest administration of its affairs, even in a few country villages, occasioned "*intolerable sufferings.*" We will not forget the man, who urged

the removal of half a dozen "rascally Postmasters," in our own State, because they were unwilling to prostitute their office to aid in the defeat of De Witt Clinton. Mr. President, do I misrepresent here? Look over our land from one end to the other, and tell me, who are everywhere the active, indefatigable, and efficient supporters of the "heir apparent?" Show me a village meeting, or a county convention, which has for its object the advancement of his interest, or that of the party, (which is the same thing,) where the Deputy Post Master does not figure. Sir, it does appear to me, that this is one of the most alarming signs of the times, and this circumstance alone, should array every lover of his country, against Mr. Van Buren.

But Gentlemen, with all these fearful odds—this mighty array of office holders against us, we have nothing to fear,—Our cause is the cause of our country, and *must* prevail. Bank or no Bank, Sir, is a matter of small moment with us. We rally for the supremacy of law, and in view of this high object, I would blot out all the lines that have heretofore divided us. I will forget that some of us, have been the early and devoted friends of Genl. Jackson, while others, have felt reluctant, to clothe him with civil power. I will forget, that some of us have been in favor of a high protecting tariff of duties, while others, have been the advocates of what is termed a free trade. I will forget, that some of us have regarded a National Bank, and Branches, as highly important to the Government and commercial operations of this widely extended country, while others believe it may be dispensed with.

Sir, I will forget, that there has been any contest between Masonry and Anti-masonry, and would say to one and all, if there is any thing valuable in the free institutions for which our fathers fought and bled—if you would transmit this precious legacy unimpaired to your children, then resist these alarming encroachments of absolute power. The crisis is at hand, which determines whether we go the way of all Republics before us, and submit to a military despotism, or remain a free people. Yes, Sir, the time has come, when all good citizens should forget minor differences of opinion, and lay aside their partiality for individuals, and unite in one common effort, to wrest the government from the hands of men, whose recent acts exhibit a scene of profligacy and misrule, unparalleled in the annals of faction, disgraceful to men, and a reproach to our institutions.

I trust, Sir, there is no one here, who does not feel the importance of the contest, and who has not resolved to do his duty; and if there is an individual, who has a single friend, or acquaintance, indifferent upon this subject—who is disposed to say, this is a mere party contest for place, in which he has no interest, tell him otherwise—say to him that we fight not for the "spoils of victory"—that the coming election differs from all that have preceded it—that its result, will not improbably, settle the question as to the permanancy of our institutions, and that his single vote may perhaps decide, whether, the purse and the sword of the nation are hereafter to be confided to the hands of a single man—and tell him, that the history of all Republics proclaims this one fact, that indifference to the *Character* of Rulers, always precedes the loss of liberty. Gentlemen of the Convention, the eyes of the nation are turned to the coming election here with us; nay, more, the lovers of liberty everywhere, regard with intense interest, the rally to be made in the empire State, in behalf of violated law. And, Sir, we have higher motives than these. The bleeding Constitution of our Country beckons us to its rescue. The plighted faith of the Nation trampled in the dust, appeals to us for succor. A more than Roman Senate asks—shall they appeal in vain? And if interest is felt above, in what occurs below, the sainted spirits of our departed sires, bend to learn, in whether the freedom purchased by their valor, shall longer be pre-

served by their sons, or whether this fair heritage—this last fair fabric of Republican Government, reared by their sacrifices, and toil, and prayers, shall be trampled by a Despot.



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